CHRISTIANITY AND PATRIOTISM

AND OTHER ESSAYS

TOLSTOY

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COUNT LEO TOLSTOY

CHRISTIANITY AND PATRIOTISM

WITH PERTINENT EXTRACTS FROM OTHER ESSAYS

BY

COUNT LEO TOLSTOY

TRANSLATED BY PAUL BORGER
AND OTHERS

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PUBLISHERS' PREFATORY NOTE.

Christianity and Patriotism, by Count Tolstoy, was published in Russian in 1895 at Geneva, Switzerland, where, however, it enjoyed but a limited circulation since its readers were restricted to the Russian exiles residing in Western Europe. The present translation appeared originally in *The Open Court,* and is now republished on account of the prevalent interest in Russian affairs. At the time of its first appearance, the Countess Tatiana Tolstoy, in the name of her father, wrote as follows to the Editor of *The Open Court,* for the purpose of authorizing the present translation: "My father bade me write and tell you that he will be very happy to have his sketch appear in your journal, which he appreciates very much, and always reads with great interest and pleasure."

Our frontispiece, which is from a photograph taken in Moscow, is highly characteristic of the extraordinary Russian.

In addition to the essay on "Christianity and Patriotism," we include in this little book a number of extracts which characterize the world-conception of Tolstoy. That we do not agree with the venerable author in some of his most essential views, does not prevent us from admiring his earnestness and genius. Our readers will find an appreciative criticism of his views in the epilogue.

PAUL CARUS,
Manager of Open Court Publishing Company.

CHRISTIANITY AND PATRIOTISM.

I.

FOUR years ago there came to Russia a well-known French agitator for war with Germany, who essayed to prepare the ground for a Franco-Russian Alliance. He paid us a visit in our village. We were then in the field making hay. On our return we made his acquaintance, and during lunch he told us about his service in the war of 1870, how he was taken prisoner, how he escaped, and how he had given a patriotic pledge never to cease agitating for war with Germany until France had redeemed her glory and integrity.

All the pleadings of our guest about the necessity of an alliance between Russia and France for the purpose of restoring France's former boundaries, power, and glory, and in the interest of our own safety against Germany's evil designs, met with no success. To his arguments that France could not rest satisfied until her provinces were restored to her, we answered that neither could Prussia rest satisfied until she had avenged herself for Jena, and that, should the French

revanche be successful now, Germany would still have to square matters up again, and so on *ad infinitum*.

To his argument that the French are bound to liberate their brethren in Alsace-Lorraine, we answered that the condition of the inhabitants, of the majority of the laboring men of Alsace-Lorraine, was hardly worse now, under the German rule, than it had been before under the French rule. And for the simple reason that certain Alsatians preferred to be French citizens, or that because he, our guest, desired to vindicate the glory of the French arms, it by no means followed that we should deliberately bring about the appalling evils incident to war; in fact, we could not sacrifice to that end a single human life.

Furthermore, being Christians, we could not approve of war, because war requires the slaughter of men, whereas Christianity not only forbids all murder, but actually demands the exercise of benevolence towards all men, who are our brethren, without regard to nationality. A Christian government, we said, in undertaking a war, in order to be consistent, ought not only to remove the crosses from its churches, dedicate its temples to other purposes, give the clergy a different occupation, and forbid the circulation of the New Testament,—but it should also renounce all the precepts of morality that follow from the Christian doctrines. *C'est à prendre, ou à laisser*, we told him. To draw people into a war before Christianity had been stamped out of existence, would be a deceit and a

fraud, but one which nevertheless is practised right along. As for our own part, we had seen into that deceit and could not submit to it.

As there was neither music, champagne, nor anything else befogging our heads, our guest only shrugged his shoulders, and with the habitual French amiability told us that he was very grateful for the cordial hospitality which he found in our home, and extremely regretted that his ideas had not met with a similar welcome.

II.

After the foregoing conversation we went out into the fields, and, hoping to find there among the people more sympathy for his ideas, he requested me to translate to an old and sickly, but still industrious, moujik, Procophy, our comrade in toil, his plan of action against the Germans, which consisted, as he expressed it, in squeezing from both sides the German who stood between the Russians and the French. The Frenchman presented his idea to Procophy graphically by placing his white fingers against the sweaty sides of the peasant.

I remember Procophy's good-natured and derisive surprise when I explained to him the Frenchman's words and gestures. Procophy evidently considered his proposition about the squeezing of the Germans as a joke, never entertaining the idea that a mature

and learned man could talk in a sober state about the desirability of war.

"Well, suppose we do squeeze him from both sides," he answered, pitting joke against joke, "we'll have him cornered, won't we? We ought to give him some room, too.

I translated the answer to my guest.

"*Dites lui que nous aimons les Russes,*" he said. These words perplexed Procophy even more than the proposition about squeezing the German, and he grew suspicious.

"Who is he?" he inquired of me, looking distrustfully at my guest. I told him that he was a Frenchman, a man of wealth.

"What is his business?" was his next question. I told him again that he had come here to effect an alliance between the Russians and the French in case of war with Germany. Procophy was evidently quite displeased, and, turning to the women who were sitting near a pile of hay, ordered them in a strict tone of voice, which fully expressed his feelings, to go on with their work.

"Here, you old crones," he said, "wake up, bestir yourselves! Now is the time for squeezing the German. The hay is not half gathered yet, and it looks as if harvest would begin in a few days." Then, as if being loath to offend a stranger and a visitor by his remarks, he added, shaping his stubby teeth into a good-natured smile: "Better come to work with us, and

let the German go. When the work is over, we'll celebrate it, and we'll have the German with us, too. He is a man like ourselves."

With that Procophy shouldered his pitchfork and joined the women.

"*O, le brave homme!*" laughingly exclaimed our polite Frenchman.

And thus ended at that time his diplomatic mission to the Russian people.

The sight of those two men, so diametrically opposed in stations of life—on the one hand, the well-fed and well-groomed Frenchman, with a silk hat and a long coat of the latest cut, vivacious and elegant and in the best of health, demonstrating energetically with his white hands how we were to squeeze the German; and, on the other, the ungainly peasant, with his hair full of hay, his skin all dried up from hard work, sun-burnt, always tired, yet toiling hard despite his work-swollen fingers, in home-made overalls, with old, worn-out sandals, a huge pitchfork of hay on his shoulder, and moving along with that economical gait which is so characteristic of the laboring man—I say the sight of those two men, so different in all respects, was fraught for me with profound significance at the time, and I vividly recollected the scene on the occasion of the Toulon-Paris festivities.

The one, the Frenchman, impersonated a class in the world who had grown fat on the people's labor, men who afterwards recklessly used that people as

food for powder; the other, Procophy, was a type of the food-for-powder class who had sustained and put bread into the mouths of all those who were afterwards to lord it over him.

III.

"Well, but the French have been deprived of two provinces, two favorite children have been torn away from their mother. Russia cannot permit Germany to make laws for her and interfere with her historical mission in the East; nor can she entertain the possibility of losing, like the French, her Baltic Provinces, Poland, or the Caucasus. Germany, too, cannot suffer the thought of losing those advantages as regards France, which she has acquired at the cost of such great sacrifices. England cannot afford to yield her maritime preponderance to some one else." And so on *ad infinitum*.

In such arguments it is generally presumed that the Frenchman, the Russian, the German, and the Englishman must be ready to sacrifice everything he has, in order to recover the lost provinces, in order to insure their influence in the East, in order to rule the seas, etc.

It is presumed that the sentiment of patriotism, in the first place, is always innate in all men, and secondly, that it is such a lofty sentiment, that, where it is absent, it should be cultivated.

Neither the one nor the other presumption is correct. I have lived for half a century in the midst of the Russian people, and genuine Russians at that, and yet in all that time I have never seen nor heard any manifestation or any expression of such a sentiment, if I except the patriotical formulas which are learned in military service or from books, and which are afterwards mechanically repeated by empty-headed or corrupt individuals. I have never heard among the mass of the people themselves any expression of patriotic sentimentality. On the contrary, I have repeatedly heard from earnest and respectable men words of total indifference and even of contempt for all manifestations of patriotism. I have also observed the same phenomenon among the workingmen of other countries, and my observations have been corroborated time and again by intelligent Frenchmen, Germans, and Englishmen.

The working people are too much preoccupied with the absorbing business of gaining a subsistence to bother about the political questions that evoke the sentiment of patriotism. The questions of Russia's influence in the East, of German unity, of the restoration of the French provinces, etc., do not interest him, because, first, he is generally ignorant of the circumstances at the origin of those questions, and also because his interests in life are totally independent of political and state interests.

To a man of the people it is indifferent where this

or that boundary-line is marked out, who shall possess Constantinople, whether Saxony shall or shall not become a member of the German Union, or whether Australia and the Matabeleland shall belong to England; he is even indifferent as to whom he has to pay his taxes to, and as to which army his sons serve in. But it is all important for him to know the amount of his tax, the length of the military service, the time he will have to pay for his land in, or how much he can get for his work. All these are questions independent of general state or political interests.

And so it happens that despite all the energetic measures resorted to by governments to imbue the people with a sentiment of patriotism and to suppress the sprouting of socialistic ideas, yet the latter are constantly striking deeper roots among the masses, while the spirit of patriotism, so skilfully nourished by the government, is not only not affecting them, but is slowly disappearing, and now lingers only among the higher classes whose purposes it serves. If it happens sometimes that patriotism does get possession of the masses, it is only because the masses have been subjected to vigorous hypnotic influence by the government and the ruling classes, and it lives only as long as that influence lasts.

Thus, for instance, in Russia, where patriotism in the shape of love for and loyalty to the Church, the Tzar and the mother country is excited in the Russian people by all available means, through the medium of the

churches, the schools, the press, and the most varied kinds of ceremonies,—notwithstanding all this, I say, the Russian laboring man, who constitutes one hundred millions of the Russian people, despite his undeserved reputation of being especially loyal to his faith, his Tzar, and his mother country, is a race of men the most free imaginable from the illusions of patriotism and of loyalty to his creed, his Tzar, and his country.

As to his faith, that orthodox, governmental faith, he hardly knows what it is, and no sooner does he know it than he abandons it and becomes a rationalist; in other words, he embraces a faith which can neither be attacked nor defended. As to his Tzar, notwithstanding the continual and forceful admonitions he receives on this head, he treats him as he does all despotic authorities, if not condemning him outright, yet regarding him with absolute indifference. And as to his mother country, if we do not understand by that his village or township, he is either absolutely ignorant of what it is, or else he makes no distinction between it and the surrounding States. Formerly the Russian emigrants used to go to Austria and to Turkey; and in the same manner now they settle indifferently within the Russian domain or outside it, in China or elsewhere.

IV.

An old friend of mine, D., was wont to pass his winters on his Russian estate, or rather in his village,

while his wife, whom he visited occasionally, lived in Paris. It was a habit of his, on long wintry evenings, to have a chat with an illiterate but very intelligent and respectable moujik,—the village marshal,—who would then bring in to him his daily report. The subject of that talk was usually the superiority of the French governmental system over ours. This was on the eve of the last Polish revolt, and the intermeddling of the French government in our affairs was much resented. The Russian patriotic press was raving with indignation at such conduct, and had succeeded in so inflaming the ruling classes that the situation was becoming very critical, and there was considerable talk of war.

My friend, having read the papers, was enlightening the marshal on the existing relations between Russia and France. Being under the influence of the press, my friend was telling him that in case of war (he was a military man in retirement) he would join the army and fight the French. At that time *revanche* against the French seemed the proper thing for patriotic Russians on account of the disaster of Sebastopol.

"Why, what is the use of going to war?" inquired the marshal.

"What? Would you permit the French to dictate to us?"

"But you said yourself that things were better arranged in their country," the marshal replied quite

earnestly. "Why not let them arrange things the same over here?"

My friend told me that this argument had struck him so forcibly that he was unable to make a reply, and that he only laughed, as people do on awakening from a deceptive dream.

Similar reasoning may be heard from every sober-minded Russian workingman, provided he is not under the hypnotic influence of the government. They tell us about the love of the Russian people for their religion, their Tzar, and their country, and yet there is not a community of peasants in all Russia that would hesitate between the two following places of domicile: One in Russia, their own adored country, with the Russian Father-Tzar, as they call him in the books, and with the holy Orthodox faith, but with less and poorer land; and the other one outside of Russia, in Prussia, China, Turkey, or Austria, without the Father White Tzar and the Orthodox faith, but with more and better land. The question under which government he must live (he knows that every government will pluck him alike) has infinitely less importance for the Russian peasant than the question whether the water is good, whether the soil is of the right kind, and whether his cabbage grows well.

It may be said, however, that this indifference of the Russians comes from the knowledge that they will fare better under any government than they do under their own, there being none worse in Europe than the

Russian. But this is not true; for we observe the same phenomenon among the English, the Dutch, and the German emigrants who go to America, and among others who come to Russia.

The shifting of the European populations from one rule to another—from the Turkish to the Austrian, or from the French to the German—is fraught with so few changes in their condition of life, that in no case can it arouse discontent among the working classes, provided they are not excited artificially by the governments and by the ruling classes.

V.

As a proof of the existence of patriotism people are wont to adduce its manifestation during great crises and festivities, as, for instance, in Russia during a coronation, or in France at the time of the declaration of war against Prussia, or in Germany during the celebration of victories.

But one ought to know how these manifestations are prepared.

The popular enthusiasm is prepared mostly artificially by those whose interests it serves; the degree of enthusiasm exhibited shows only the degree of skill on the part of the managers. This business is one of long standing, and, consequently, the expert managers of popular enthusiasm sometimes display a high degree of originality.

When Alexander II. was the heir apparent to the throne, and, as the hereditary custom was, commanded the Preobrajensky regiment, he happened to visit it one day in its camp. No sooner had the soldiers perceived his carriage than they came running out of their tents in their shirt sleeves and received their most august commander, as they have it in the books, so enthusiastically, that many of them actually made the sign of the cross as they ran at full speed after his carriage. All who witnessed the scene were deeply moved by this expression of naïve loyalty and love on the part of the Russian soldier towards their Tzar and his heir, and by the apparently spontaneous religious enthusiasm which was exhibited in the soldiers' faces and actions, and especially in their making the sign of the cross.

Yet all this had been artificially prepared beforehand, in the following manner. After the regular review, on the eve of the foregoing occurrence, the Tzarevitch informed the brigade commander that he intended to pay a visit to his regiment on the morrow.

"When shall I expect Your Imperial Majesty?" was the answer.

"In the evening. But make no demonstrations, please."

As soon as the Tzarevitch left, the brigadier called the company-commanders together and ordered them to see to it that on the morrow all the men should have clean shirts on, and that as soon as they per-

ceived the Tzarevitch's carriage—which would be signalled to them—they should run out to meet him, one and all, with loud "hurrahs," and that every tenth man in the company should make, in running, the sign of the cross. The first sergeants went to their companies, drew them up in files and, counting from the right, stopped at every tenth man: "One, two, three . . . eight, nine, ten,—Sidorenko, you'll cross; one, two, three, four . . . etc., Ivanow will cross." Everything was done as ordered, and the impression of enthusiasm was complete on the Tzarevitch, as it was also on all present, on the officers, the soldiers themselves, and even on the brigade-commander who was the author of the whole proceeding. In this manner, although perhaps in not so coarse a form, patriotic manifestations are prepared everywhere.

Thus, wherever the authorities succeed, by a series of simultaneous and concerted measures, which are always at their command, in bringing the vulgar masses into an abnormally excited state, they say to us: Behold, this is a spontaneous manifestation of the popular will. Such manifestations as recently took place in Toulon and in Paris, or in Germany during the reception of the Emperor and Bismarck, or such as take place in Russia during all solemnities, only prove that the means of exciting the masses which are lodged in the hands of the authorities and the ruling classes, are so powerful that those possessing them can call forth at any time any kind of manifestation they wish,

by simply appealing to the people's patriotic sentiments. But on the other hand, nothing proves so effectively the absence of patriotism in the people as just these tremendous efforts, which are periodically made by the authorities and ruling classes for artificially exciting the patriotism of the people.

If the patriotic spirit is so innate in the people, why not let it show itself freely and of its own accord, instead of exciting it continually by all sorts of artifices? Let them stop in Russia, for a while at least, the practice of compelling the people to swear allegiance to every new Tzar, let them cease saying solemn prayers for the Tzar during every mass, let them cease celebrating his birthdays with the ringing of bells, with illuminations and the compulsory stoppage of work; let them cease placing his image in every public place, let them cease printing his name in large letters in all the prayer-books, calendars, and text-books; let them cease extolling him in all the books and papers which are printed for that purpose; let them cease throwing people into prison for the least disrespectful word said of him,—let them cease doing all such things, and then we shall see how much inclination there is inborn in the Russian people, in the genuine working classes, in Procophy, in Ivan, to adore his Tzar, who for his pains delivers him into the hands of the landed proprietor and the rich capitalist.

Thus it is in Russia. And it is so elsewhere. Let the ruling classes of other countries, of Germany, of

France, of Italy, and the rest, cease exciting the patriotism of their people and we shall see how innate this imaginary spirit is in the populations of our time.

Their method, however, is to befog the minds of the people from infancy by every possible means—by the perversion of educational text-books, by the celebration of public masses, by sermons, speeches, books, papers, and monuments. They gather together a few thousand people by bribery or by force, further increasing their number by loafers, and when this mob amid the booming of cannon and the strains of music, blinded by all sorts of glitter, yells what has been suggested to it beforehand, they call it an expression of the popular will.

But, in the first place, it is only about one ten-thousandth part of the whole population who do the yelling during such festivities; in the second place, out of all this mass, about one-half is gathered by some strong attraction, if not collected forcibly, as is done in Russia; in the third, out of all those thousands only a few score really know what is the matter, while the rest would yell and wave their caps just as frantically if something else and exactly the contrary took place in its stead; and lastly, the police are always present on such occasions ready to grab any one who has the hardihood or misfortune to yell something different from what has been prescribed by the authorities.

In France, under Napoleon I., they welcomed with the same enthusiasm the war against Russia, as they

did later Alexander I. against whom that war had been waged; and then again they greeted with enthusiasm Napoleon, and later the allies, and then the Bourbons, the Orleans, the Republic, Napoleon III., and Boulanger. In Russia they receive equally well, to-day Peter, to-morrow Catherine, the day after Paul, Alexander, Constantine, Nicolas, Prince Leichtenberg, the Slavonian brethren, the Prussian king, and the French sailors, or in fact any one whom the authorities wish them to welcome. The same takes place in England, in America, in Germany, and in all other countries.

The so-called patriotism of our time is, on the one hand, a certain mood, or frame of mind, which is being constantly aroused in the people and maintained by school, religion, and a venal press, to suit the wishes of the government; and on the other hand, it is a temporary excitement aroused in the lower classes—who are both morally and intellectually inferior—by the ruling classes, and then vaunted by them as the will of the whole people.

VI.

"But," some one will say, "granting the people are void of the sentiment of patriotism, the reason is they have not as yet reached the plane of this lofty sentiment, which is a marked characteristic of every educated man. And if they have not yet acquired this sentiment, they must be educated to it. This is just what the government is doing."

Such remarks are generally heard from representatives of the ruling classes, who are so confident that patriotism is a lofty sentiment, that the simple men of the people, not experiencing that sentiment themselves, have a consciousness of guilt, and at once seek to assure themselves that they have it, or, at least feign having it.

What now is that lofty sentiment which, in the opinion of the ruling classes, should be ingrafted in the minds of the people?

Strictly speaking, it is nothing more nor less than the preference of one's own government and people over any other government and people, a sentiment well expressed in the German patriotic song:

"*Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles.*"

Replace Deutschland by Russland, Frankreich, Italien, or N. N., and you have an extremely lucid form of the lofty sentiment of patriotism. It may be that this sentiment is very desirable and very useful to the authorities and to the integrity of States, but one cannot help seeing that it is not in any respect lofty. On the contrary, it is very stupid and immoral. It is stupid because if every State considers itself the superior of all others, then evidently all of them are wrong. It is immoral because it necessarily leads every man who possesses it to seek advantages for his own State at the expense of other States,—a desire absolutely antagonistic to the fundamental and gener-

ally accepted moral law, which is: Do not do unto others what you would not have them do unto you.

Patriotism could be a virtue in the ancient world where it demanded of every man devotion to what was then the highest attainable ideal, that of the mother-country. But how can it be a virtue in our day when it demands what is contrary to the ideal both of our religion and morality,—the denial of the equality and the fraternity of man, and the acknowledgment of the supremacy of one State, of one people above all others. Furthermore, this sentiment not only is not a virtue now, but it is undeniably a vice. Patriotism in its true sense has neither material nor moral grounds for existence.

Patriotism could have meaning in the ancient world where every people, more or less homogeneous in its composition and professing the same state creed, formed, as it were, an island in the midst of a threatening sea of barbarians.

It is clear that, under such circumstances, patriotism, which was the impulse to repel invasions of barbarians who were ready to overthrow public institutions, to rob and to capture men and women, was then a very natural sentiment, and the man of that time, in order to save himself and his countrymen, was naturally justified in preferring his own people to others, and in cherishing animosity towards the surrounding barbarians, and even in killing them in defence of his people.

But what meaning can that sentiment have in our Christian era? What justifies a man now-a-days, a Russian for instance, in killing the French, or the Germans; or what justifies the French in killing the Germans, when they know very well, however ignorant they may be, that the people of the fellow-nation against whom their patriotic enmity is excited, are no barbarians, but men like themselves, Christians, often of the same creed and denomination as they, wishing nothing but peace and a peaceful exchange of the products of labor, and, furthermore, having the same common interests, industrial, or commercial, or intellectual, or all three together. It happens very frequently that a certain portion of the people of one nation are more intimately connected with the people of another nation than with their own countrymen, as is the case with men in the employment of a foreigner, or with merchants generally, and particularly with men of science and artists.

Besides, the very conditions of life have changed in our times, where the so-called mother-country, as distinguished from everything around it, has ceased to be so well defined as it was in the ancient world, where the individuals composing it belonged to the same race and to the same creed. An Egyptian's, a Jew's, a Greek's patriotism is clear to us. In defending their country they defended their race, their creed, their institutions, and their birthplace.

But in what does the patriotism of an Irishman in

the United States consist, who by creed belongs to Rome, by race to Ireland, and by residence to the United States? In the same predicament are the Bohemian in Austria, the Pole in Russia, Prussia, and Austria, the Indian in England, the Tartar and the Armenian in Russia and Turkey. And leaving aside individuals of subjugated races, the citizens even of our most homogeneous states, such as Russia, France, and Prussia, cannot have the same sentiment of patriotism as that which characterised the ancients, because their whole life's interests frequently lie outside their nation and in the very country against which their patriotic hatred is excited. A man's family-interests may be there; his wife may be a foreigner; his economical interests, his capital may be there; his intellectual, his scientific, and artistic interests,—they all may be abroad, in the very country he is expected to make war against.

Why patriotism is impossible in our time is mainly because, despite all our efforts to suppress the sense of Christianity in the course of 1800 years, it nevertheless crops out into our lives and has such a hold on it, that even men most coarse and stupid cannot help seeing the total incompatibility of patriotism with those moral precepts which guide their lives.

VII.

At one time, patriotism was necessary for the creation and the defence of strong States composed of

heterogeneous populations. But as soon as Christian enlightenment internally transformed and gave to one and all of these States the same foundation, patriotism not only became superfluous, but it became the only obstacle to that union of the nations for which they had been prepared by Christianity.

The patriotism of our time is a cruel tradition of the past, and it keeps itself alive only by a sort of inertia and by dint of the efforts of the ruling classes, who are conscious that on it rests not only their authority, but also their existence. The patriotism of our time is like the false timbers of a building, which were necessary for the erection of the building, but which have not been removed because they serve a certain purpose to a few men, although they obstruct the use of the building.

Among Christian peoples there cannot exist any cause for strife. It is impossible to imagine even how and why Russian and German workingmen living in their respective capitals and along their respective frontiers and toiling peacefully at their tasks, should suddenly commence to quarrel. Much less is it possible to imagine the enmity of a Kazán peasant towards the German whom he is supplying with wheat and who, in his turn, is furnishing that peasant with scythes and all sorts of agricultural machinery. The same applies to the French, the German, and the Italian workingmen. It is even ridiculous to think of any quarrel among men of science and art, or among the men of

letters of the different nationalities, since all of them have the same common interests, totally independent of national or State interests.

But the governments cannot afford to let people live in peace, because the main, if not the only excuse for their existence is the pacification of the people and the adjustment of international difficulties. With that end in view, the governments provoke hostile sentiments among the people under the cloak of patriotism and then pretend to labor towards a pacific settlement of the difficulty. They are just like the Gypsies, who, having wrought a horse to a high pitch of excitement by whipping it in its stall and by other nefarious means, drag it out by the halter and pretend that they cannot manage the fiery steed.

We are assured that the governments are very anxious about preserving peace. But how do they preserve it?

People live happily along the shores of the Rhine, holding peaceful intercourse with one another, when suddenly, through the quarrels and intrigues of kings and emperors, a war breaks out, and it becomes necessary for the government of France to bring some of those inhabitants under its rule. Centuries pass, people become used to their new conditions, when again the governments commence to quarrel and go to war on the most trifling pretext, and this time the Germans deem it necessary to bring those inhabitants back under their rule. In this manner hatred is con-

stantly kept up between the French and the Germans. Again, the Germans and the Russians are living happily along their respective frontiers, exchanging peacefully the products of their labor, when suddenly the very institutions which exist for securing the welfare of the people, begin to quarrel, and to bicker, and, for want of something better to do, and to gain a mere trivial point, or to humiliate an adversary, institute a tariff war which does not affect them in any way, but from which the people seriously suffer.

I mention these last two examples of governmental action, which have had the design of exciting mutual hatred among nations, because they are of a very recent date. There is not, however, in the whole range of history a single war which was not brought on by the governments alone, without any reference to the popular interests, to which even a successful war is always harmful.

The governments assure their people that they are threatened by a foreign invasion, or are menaced by internal foes, and that their only salvation is in an implicit obedience to the government. Every government justifies its existence and its outrages, saying that without it the people would fare worse. Having convinced the people that they are in danger, the governments bring them into subjection. After gaining a mastery over their own people, the governments compel them to attack other nations. In this manner are

justified in the people's eyes the assertions of the governments as to threatening foreign invasions.

Divide et impera. Patriotism in its simplest, clearest, and most undoubted meaning is for rulers nothing else but a means of realising their ambitious and venal ends; for the governed it is a renouncing of human dignity, intelligence, and conscience, and a slavish submission to the rulers. Wherever patriotism is championed, it is preached invariably in that shape. Patriotism is slavery. The advocates of arbitration reason thus: two animals cannot divide their prey without a scuffle. This is the way children and barbarians act. Intelligent men settle their differences by recourse to argument and persuasion and by submitting their disputes to disinterested, intelligent men. This is what the nations of our time ought to do. The logic of it seems correct. The nations of our time have reached a period of enlightenment, they experience no mutual enmity, and they could settle all their differences in a peaceful manner. But its logic is correct only in so far as it applies to the people alone, and provided also that the people are not under the influence of the government. As to people who obey the government implicitly, they cannot be wise, because the very act of submission to government is *per se* a sign of the greatest folly.

Wherein is the wisdom of men who bind themselves in advance to do everything (including murder) that the government may direct—the government which

may consist largely of men who have gotten accidentally into that position!

Men who will promise implicit obedience to persons wholly unknown to them in St. Petersburg, Vienna, or Paris, cannot be wise, while the governments, that is, the men possessing governmental authority, may be even less wise; and they cannot help abusing their great authority, cannot help having their heads turned by their immense power. For this reason international peace cannot be brought about by means of conventions and arbitrations, as long as there is blind obedience to rulers.

As long as there is patriotism, there will be blind submission, i. e., readiness on the part of the people to obey every measure having in view the defence of their country against some pretended dangers.

On this patriotism stood the power of the French kings before the Revolution; on it was based the might of the Committee of Public Safety after the Revolution. The same patriotism erected Napoleon's power (as Consul and Emperor); on it, after Napoleon's downfall, stood the dominion of the Bourbons, and later that of the Republic and of Louis Philippe, and of the Republic again, and of Bonaparte again, and, lastly, of the Republic. The same patriotism came near placing Boulanger in power.

It is a fearful thing to say, but there has never been a joint outrage of this kind perpetrated by one group of men upon another, but it has been done in the name

of patriotism. In the name of patriotism, years ago, the Russians and the French sought to exterminate each other, in its name now the Russians and the French are preparing to assault the Germans; in its name the Germans are making ready to wage war against both. But wars aside, in the name of patriotism the Russians are crushing the Poles, and the Germans are doing the same with the Slavs; in the name of patriotism the Communists murdered the Versaillists, and *vice versa*.

VIII.

One would expect that with the spread of education and the increased intercourse of nations, the enormous growth of the public press, and the absence of all danger from foreign invasion, the illusion of patriotism would be more and more difficult to maintain and would finally become an impossibility.

The trouble is that the very means for its removal are being more and more monopolised by the governments and that these means enable them to excite the mutual enmities of the races in the same degree as the superfluity and the harm of patriotism grow more obvious.

The difference between the present and the past in this respect is that there being more men at present participating in the advantages incident to patriotism, there are consequently more of them to participate also in the spread and maintenance of that strange

superstition. The harder it becomes for the government to maintain its power, the greater is the number of the men with whom it is willing to share it.

Formerly a small clique of rulers had it all their own way: the emperors, the kings, the princes, their officials, and their soldiery. At present, the participants of that power and of its concomitant advantages are not only the officials and the clergy, but also the capitalists, small and large, the land-owners, the bankers, the members of the Houses of the Legislature, the school-teachers, and the village officials, the scientists and the artists, and, especially, the newspaper writers. All these persons spread, consciously or unconsciously, the falsehood of patriotism which is so necessary for their maintenance. This falsehood, thanks to the increased means of its propagation and thanks to the increased numbers of its propagators, is inculcated so successfully that, despite the greater difficulties it encounters, the percentage of the deluded people remains the same.

A hundred years ago, the illiterate masses, totally ignorant of the composition of their government and of the surrounding nations, yielded blind obedience to the local officials and the nobility, and were virtually their slaves. It was sufficient for the government to keep those officials and that nobility in hand by means of bribery and by a system of rewards, in order to get the people to do its bidding. Now, when people can read, more or less, when they know all about their

government and about the neighboring nations; when individuals from among the people move from place to place with ease, disseminating the news of what is going on in the world, a simple and outright demand of obedience is not sufficient: it is necessary to befog the truthful notions which people have concerning their life, and to spread among them other notions, antagonistic to their interests and untruthful as regards their life and standing with other nations.

Thanks to universal enlightenment, to the public press, and to the present facilities of intercourse, and, furthermore, having everywhere their agents, the governments succeed by means of circulars, orders, sermons, schools, and newspapers, in imbuing the people with the wildest and the most perverted notions concerning their true interests, the intercourse of nations, their character, and their intentions; and the people, crushed and ground down by hard labor, obey blindly, having neither time nor facilities for verifying the truthfulness of the representations made to them or the justice of the demands imposed upon them.

The individuals from among the people who succeed in emancipating themselves from their hard lot, who acquire an education, and who, consequently, understand the deceit practised upon the masses, are subjected to such a pressure in the form of threats, bribery, and hypnotic influence by the government, that they almost all, without exception, side with the government, and, accepting the well-paid positions of

school-teacher, clergymen, officers, clerks, etc., themselves participate in the spread of that deceit which mires their brethren and has crushed their fathers. It seems as if there were nets spread at the doors of education, the meshes of which entangle every one who by one means or another has emancipated himself from the lot of the down-trodden masses.

At first, on comprehending the terrible cruelty of this deceit, one involuntarily feels indignant at the persons who, from personal, venal, or vain ends, are the cause of this fatal illusion; one feels impelled to tear the mask from the faces of these cruel deceivers. But the trouble is that the deceivers deceive, not because they wish to do so, but because—they cannot help it. They deceive not consciously, Machiavellically, but, mostly, with a naïve conviction that they are doing something good and lofty, and in this they are confirmed by the sympathy and the approval of their associates. Feeling dimly that both their power and remunerative positions depend on the maintenance of that deceit, they are attracted to it involuntarily, and are fully convinced that what they are doing is useful to the people.

In the same manner ministers of foreign affairs, diplomats, and all classes of officialdom put on their gorgeous uniforms decorated with ribbons and crosses, and indite zealously on beautiful paper their vague, complicated, useless communications, reports, rescripts, projects, fully convinced that without their

wonderful performances the life of the nations would come to a standstill and fall to pieces.

Military men, arrayed in their ridiculous uniforms, discussing earnestly what guns are the best to kill men with, are fully convinced that their manœuvres and their reviews are things highly important and absolutely indispensable for the people.

This conviction is also shared by the priests who preach patriotism, by the journalists, and by the composers of patriotic verses and text-books, for which they are all well remunerated.

All the doings of these men are mostly unconscious; they act in this manner out of necessity, or because their whole life is based on this deceit, which supports their acts, and because they can do nothing else, whereas their present doings call forth the approval and the sympathy of society. Being bound together by common interests, they naturally approve of each other's doings: the emperors and the kings approve of the doings of the military men, the officials, and the clergy; while the military, the officials, and the clergy approve of the doings of the emperors and kings, and of each other. Furthermore, the masses of the people, the urban masses in particular, being unable to comprehend the meaning of all these acts, involuntarily ascribe to them an extraordinary and supernatural import. The masses seeing, for instance, that triumphal arches are being put up, that certain personages are arraying themselves in uniforms, in priestly robes, in crowns,

that fireworks are being shot off, that cannon are booming and bells ringing, that regiments are marching by to the sound of music, that papers and telegrams and couriers are flying hither and thither, seeing that some grotesquely uniformed men are constantly riding from place to place with anxious faces, that they are saying something, writing something,—the masses seeing all this, I say, and being unable to ascertain that it is all done without the least necessity, ascribe to it an extraordinary and mysterious meaning and receive all these demonstrations either with yells of delight or with respectful silence. These expressions, sometimes of delight and always of respect, on the part of the mob, sanction still further the foolish doings of these men.

William II. recently had a new throne made for himself with some special ornaments, put on a white dress-coat, tight-fitting trousers, and a helmet with a bird crowning it, and, throwing over his shoulders a red cloak, made his appearance before his subjects and sat on that new throne fully convinced that it was an act very useful and important; while his subjects not only did not find anything ridiculous about it, but, on the contrary, thought that the sight was a very solemn one.

IX.

The authority of the governments over the people now-a-days is not based on force, as it used to be in

bygone times when one nationality could conquer another one and hold it in subjection by force of arms; or when the rulers surrounded themselves in the midst of an unarmed people by armed swarms of Janissaries, Opritchniks, or body-guards. The power of the government stands now and has stood for some time on what is called public opinion.

Public opinion having once created the belief that patriotism is a great moral sentiment, that it is well and proper to consider one's own government, one's own people as the best in the world, there naturally follows in its footsteps a further public opinion that it is well and proper to obey the authority of the government, that it is well and proper to serve in the army and to submit to discipline, that it is proper to give one's savings to the government in the form of taxes, that it is proper to submit to the decision of the courts, that it is proper to accept implicitly all that is declared by those in authority to be divine truth.

Once such a public opinion exists there is easily established a mighty power, possessing in our time billions of dollars, an organised mechanism of government administration, a postal service, telegraphs, telephones, well-disciplined armies, police, courts, obedient clergy, schools, even a press; and that power can easily maintain among the people the kind of public opinion which suits it best.

The power of the government rests on public opinion. Possessing that power, the government can al-

ways control public opinion through the medium of its various organs, through the personnel of the courts, the school, the church, and even of the press itself. This power is created by public opinion, and public opinion is created by the power. There seems to be no escape from this situation.

This would be actually the case if public opinion were something constant and unvarying. Then the governments could produce any kind of public opinion they desired.

But, fortunately, the case is not so. In the first place, public opinion is not something constant, unvarying, it is not at a standstill; on the contrary, it is something variable and moving along with human progress; in the second place, public opinion not only cannot be produced at will by the governments, but it is itself that which creates the governments and gives them power or deprives them of it,

It does appear sometimes as if public opinion remained stationary, as if it wavered in certain particular instances, and went backwards again, now sweeping away a republic and putting a monarchy in its place, and again tearing down the monarchy and substituting a republic for it,—but this only appears so because we have always forced on our notice the exterior manifestations of that public opinion which is prepared artificially by the governments. But if we view public opinion in its relation to the whole life of the people, we shall see that, like the seasons of the

year, it is not stationary, that it is moving along the same path as the human race, just the same as the day and the spring move along the same path as the sun, despite their retardation and wavering.

Although, judging by appearances, the situation of the European nations is in our time about the same as it was fifty years since, yet the people's relation to it is far different from what it was fifty years ago. Now as then, there exist rulers, standing armies, wars, taxes, luxury and poverty, Catholicism, Lutheranism, etc. Formerly, however, these institutions rested on actual and living public opinion. Now, they exist merely because the governments understand how to support artificially the old public opinion, which is at present dying or dead.

If we fail to notice sometimes this movement of public opinion, the same as we fail to notice the river's current along which we are drifting, it is because the imperceptible changes of public opinion which constitute its drift, are also taking place within ourselves.

The signal peculiarity of public opinion is its continual drift. If it appears to us stationary, it is because there are always to be found men who have secured for themselves advantageous positions at a certain stage of public opinion, and who naturally do their best to retain that stage and to repress the appearance of the new and real public opinion, which is living in the conscience of men, although it may not as yet have found its expression. Such men, being those who seek

to maintain the old public opinion and who hinder the appearance of the new, are the persons that constitute governments and the ruling classes; and they are the ones who advocate patriotism as a condition necessary to human life.

The means which these men possess are immense, but inasmuch as public opinion is like a river which is always running and accumulating, all their efforts cannot but be futile: what is old is decaying, the young is coming into vigor.

The more the expression of the new public opinion is delayed, the more it will accumulate, and ultimately it will burst forth with greater force.

Despite the efforts of the governments to excite in the people an unnatural public opinion regarding the worth and glory of patriotism, the men of our times do not believe in patriotism, but, on the contrary, are more and more inclined to the idea of the solidarity and fraternity of nations. Patriotism does not offer the people anything but the most awful future; whereas the fraternity of the nations constitutes an ideal which is becoming more and more comprehensible and desirable to the human race. Consequently, the drift from the old to the new public opinion is inevitable. It is as inevitable as the falling off of the last dried-up leaves in the spring time and the unfolding of the young ones from their buds.

The more this transition is delayed, the more imperative it becomes, the more apparent is its necessity.

As Christians and modern men, we have only to remember what we are professing, what are the moral laws that guide us in our public and private life, and then consider where patriotism is leading us to, and we shall at once see what a vast contradiction there is between our conscience and our so-called public opinion.

We have only to consider the most ordinary requirements of patriotism, which are presented to us as something very simple and natural, in order to see how much they are at variance with that actual public opinion which is shared by all of us. We all consider ourselves free, enlightened, humane men and even Christians, yet should William take offence to-morrow at Alexander, or should Mr. N. N. write a vigorous article on the Eastern question, or should some prince rob a few Bulgarians or Servians, or a queen get offended at something, then we all, enlightened and humane Christians, shall spring up and set to work murdering men we had never seen before and to whom we were all kindly disposed. If this slaughter has not taken place yet, it is, they assure us, due to the pacific disposition of Alexander III., or because Nicolas is about to marry Victoria's niece. Should some one else be in Alexander's place, or should Alexander happen to change his disposition, or should Nicolas marry Amalie instead of Alice, then we all, like so many blood-thirsty beasts, would up and rend each other's vitals. Such is the reputed public opinion of our time;

similar discussions are actually indulged in by the most advanced and liberal organs of the press.

If we, Christians of more than a thousand years' standing, have not cut each other's throats yet, it is because Alexander III. has not permitted it! Really this transgresses credibility.

X.

Heroic deeds are not required to effect great and momentous changes in human life. It is not necessary to have millions of armed men, or new railroads, or new machinery, or new expositions, labor unions, revolutions, barricades, dynamite outrages, or air-ships, and the like; nothing is required for the purpose but a transformation of public opinion. In order to bring about this transformation, no new efforts of thought are required, it is not necessary to overthrow the existing order and to invent something new and extraordinary. All we have to do is to resolve not to submit to the false, to the dead public opinion of the past, which is artificially kept alive by the governments. It is only required that every man should say what he really thinks and feels, or else abstain from saying what he does not really believe in. If only a small group of men were to act in this manner, then the old public opinion would disappear and we should have the new, the living, and real public opinion in its stead. With the change in public opinion would follow easily the transformation in the inner life of men. It is

shameful to think how really little is required for men's deliverance from oppressing evils: *they must only not lie.* Let men not submit to the lies that are suggested to them, let them say only what they think and feel, and then there will come such a change in our life as revolutionists would not be able to bring about in the course of centuries, even if they had the power.

"What harm is there in yelling *Vive la France!* or *Hurrah!* for some emperor, or king, or conqueror? What harm is there in putting on a full-dress suit and in going and waiting in his hallway, in calling him by strange titles, and afterwards in telling the youth and the uneducated that such conduct is praiseworthy? What importance is there in writing up an article in defence of the Franco-Russian alliance, in defence of a tariff war, or a tirade condemning the Germans, the Russians, the French, etc.? What importance is there in going to a patriotic celebration, in drinking the health and making a laudatory speech in honor of men you do not like and whom you do not care about? What harm is there in acknowledging the usefulness of treaties, of alliances, or even in keeping still when people extol their own country and government and run down other nations, when they extol Catholicism, the Greek-Orthodox faith, Lutheranism, etc., or when they admire some war hero, like Napoleon, or Peter, or Boulanger, or Scobelev?" All this seems very unimportant. Yet in these seemingly unimportant actions, in our non-participation in them, in our demon-

strating their foolishness where it is apparent to us,—in this lies our might, here is the source of the formation of real public opinion. The governments are aware of it, they quake before its power and make every effort to suppress it.

They know that power lies not in force, but in thought and in its clear expression, and consequently fear it more than armies. Therefore they institute censorships, bribe the press, monopolise the direction of religions, of schools. Yet the spiritual force which moves the world evades them nevertheless: it is not in the book, nor on the paper, it is always free and out of reach, it is in the conscience of men. That most powerful and free force manifests itself in man when he is alone, when he is pondering over life's phenomena, when he is sharing his thoughts with his wife, with his brother, his friend, from whom he considers it a sin to conceal what he thinks to be the truth. No billions of dollars, no millions of soldiers, no institutions, nor wars, nor revolutions can achieve what can be achieved by the simple expression by a free man of what he considers to be right.

A free man may utter truthfully what he thinks and what he feels in the midst of thousands of men who by their actions and doings show something quite the opposite. It would seem that the truthful man must stand alone, yet it happens mostly that the majority also think and feel the same, only that they do not express it. What was yesterday a new opinion of

the one man, to-day is the joint opinion of the majority. As soon as that opinion establishes itself, men's actions commence to change slowly and by degrees.

Yet most free men say to themselves: "What can I do against this sea of evil and deceit? What is the use of expressing my opinion? What is the use of having any opinion at all? It is best not to think about these vague and complex questions. May be these incongruities are a necessary condition of all of life's phenomena. What is the use of my fighting alone the world's evil? Is it not more preferable to float with the current? If anything can be accomplished, it is not single-handed, but in conjunction with other men." Throwing away that powerful weapon of thought and its expression which moves the world, every man enters public life failing to notice that every calling he may choose is based on the very principles which he should fight, that in every calling one must at least partly recede from truth, that one must make concessions which nullify the effectiveness of the powerful weapon that is given to him. It is the same as if, being presented with an unusually sharp knife, one should commence to drive in nails with its edge.

We all complain of the mad, contradictory order of life, yet we not only neglect to utilise the only puissant weapon which we have,—the consciousness of truth and its expression,—but under the very pretext of fighting the evil, we sacrifice it. One man does not speak the truth which he is conscious of because he

feels that he is under an obligation to certain men he is connected with. Another man does not speak it because he would lose by it a profitable position which enables him to support his family. A third does not utter it because he wishes to attain fame and power and then to use these weapons in the people's service; a fourth does not wish to violate some ancient and sacred tradition; a fifth does not wish to offend the people; a sixth is afraid that the utterance of truth will bring upon himself persecution and will blast the usefulness of his career.

One man is serving his country as an emperor, king, minister, officer, or soldier, and is assuring himself and others that that deviation from truth which is necessary in his position will be far outweighed by his usefulness.

Another man may be performing the functions of a spiritual shepherd, not believing in the depths of his soul what he is preaching, yet deviating from the truth in view of the usefulness of his occupation. A third man may be instructing students in literature, and though conscious of his total silence about the truth which he observes for fear he will arouse the government and society against himself, yet believes that his activity is useful. The fourth man is straightforward, fights the existing order, as do the revolutionists and the anarchists, and is fully persuaded that the aim pursued by him is so beneficial, that the concealment of truth and even the lies which are so necessary for

the success of his operations, do not prejudice his utility.

In order to replace the order of life which is antagonistic to men's consciences by a new and appropriate one, it is necessary that the old, the decayed public opinion be replaced by a new, live opinion.

In order to bring that about, it is necessary that men who are conscious of the new requirements of life, should express them boldly. Instead of that, however, the men who really are conscious of the new requirements not only keep their silence in the name of this, or in the name of that thing, but they go to work and confirm by word and by deed what is diametrically opposed to those requirements. Truth alone and its expression will establish that public opinion which is competent to effect a change in an obsolete and harmful social order; yet we not only fail to profess that truth but very often utter things which we know are untrue.

Let free men not rely on that which has no might and is not always free, let them not rely on external power, but let them always believe in what is ever mighty and free,—in the truth and its expression. Let men speak out boldly and clearly the manifest truth of the fraternity of the nations and of the criminality of an exceptional attachment to their own race, then the false public opinion on which is based the governmental power will drop off like a dried up skin, and

in its stead will appear a young, a new one, followed by new forms of life better harmonising with men's consciences.

XI.

Men must understand that what is given out to them as public opinion, what is maintained by such complex and artificial means, is not public opinion, but only a dead remnant of an erstwhile public opinion. They must believe in themselves, must believe in what they are conscious of in the depths of their soul and what is striving to find utterance and is not uttered only because it is at variance with existing public opinion. Yet it is that very force which is changing the world and whose utterance is every man's mission. Men must believe that truth is not what they hear from others about them, but what a man's conscience is telling him. Then only will false and artificially supported public opinion disappear and a true public opinion be established.

Let men speak out what they think, and refrain from saying what is untrue; then all the superstitions bred by patriotism, all the evil feelings and outrages based on it, will vanish. The hatred and the enmity of States and races which is fanned by the governments will disappear, as well as the extolling of warlike deeds or rather of murder, and to a large extent also the respect for authorities will disappear; there will be no more subjugation of men nor despoil-

ing them of the products of their labor, all of which is based on nothing but patriotism.

Let the governments have the schools, the church, the press, their billions of dollars and millions of disciplined men, converted into so many machines,—all this seemingly awful organisation of brute force is as nothing before the consciousness of truth arising in the soul of one man who fully appreciates its might, and from whom it passes to the next, to the third, and so on, just as from one candle is lighted an infinite number of others. As soon as this light will have its full play, then, like wax before the fire, all this seemingly mighty organisation will melt and vanish.

If men only realised the mighty power which is given to them in the word of truth; if men only refrained from selling their birthright for a mess of pottage; if men only availed themselves of this power of theirs, then not only the rulers would not dare, as at present, to menace the people with universal extermination, but they also would not dare hold their reviews and manœuvres of disciplined murderers in the full sight of a country of peaceful inhabitants, they would not dare to form tariff treaties only to break them again as suited their own and their partisan interests, they would not dare pluck the people of the millions of dollars which they give to their following and wherewith they make their preparations for murder.

And thus, the change is not only possible, but it is

impossible for it not to come, just as it is impossible for a dead tree not to decay, and for a young one not to grow.

Let individual men be not seduced by the attractions surrounding them, let them not be frightened by threats. Let them know wherein lies their all-conquering might,—and the peace so desired of all will be among us before long; not that peace which is acquired through diplomatic negotiations, by the moving about of emperors and kings, by dinners, speeches, fortifications, cannons, dynamite, and melinite, in short, by the ruin of people,—but it will be the peace which is acquired by a free profession of truth on the part of every individual man.

THE OVERTHROW OF HELL AND ITS RESTORATION.

TRANSLATED BY V. TCHERTKOFF.

I.

It was at the time when Jesus was revealing his teaching to men.

This teaching was so clear—it was so easy to follow, and delivered men from evil so obviously, that it seemed impossible not to accept it, or that anything could arrest its spread.

Beelzebub, the father and ruler of all the devils, was alarmed. He clearly saw that if only Jesus did not renounce his teaching, the power of Beelzebub over men would cease forever. He was alarmed, yet did not lose heart, but incited the Pharisees and Scribes, obedient to him, to insult and torture Jesus to the utmost of their power, and also counselled the disciples of Jesus to fly and abandon him to himself. Beelzebub hoped that the condemnation of Jesus to infamous execution, and his being reviled and deserted by all the disciples, and also that the sufferings

themselves and the execution would cause Jesus at the last moment to renounce his teaching. And a recantation would destroy all its power.

This was being decided on the cross. When Jesus cried out, "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" Beelzebub was overjoyed. He snatched up the fetters prepared for Jesus, and, trying them on his own legs, proceeded to adjust them, so that when he should apply them to Jesus, they could not be undone.

Then, suddenly from the cross came the words, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

Then Jesus cried out, "It is finished," and gave up the ghost.

Beelzebub understood that all was lost. He wished to take the fetters from his legs and to flee, but he could not move from his place—the fetters had become welded on him and bound his own limbs. He wished to use his wings, but could not unfold them. And Beelzebub saw how Jesus, enveloped in a shining light, appeared at the gates of Hell, he saw how sinners from Adam to Judas came out of Hell, he saw how all the devils fled in affright, he saw the very walls of Hell silently fall to pieces on all sides. He could endure this no longer, and with a piercing shriek he fell through the rent floor to the basement.

II.

One hundred, two hundred, three hundred years passed.

Beelzebub did not count the time. Around him spread black darkness and dead silence. He lay immovable, trying not to think of what had happened, yet he could not help thinking, and he helplessly hated him who had caused his ruin.

Then suddenly—and he did not remember, nor know how many hundred years elapsed—he heard above his head sounds resembling the trampling of feet, groans, cries, and the gnashing of teeth.

Beelzebub lifted his head and listened.

That Hell could be re-established after the victory of Jesus, Beelzebub could not believe; and yet the trampling, the groans, the cries and gnashing of teeth grew louder and louder.

Beelzebub raised his body and doubled up his hairy legs with their overgrown hoofs. To his astonishment the fetters fell off of themselves, and flapping his liberated wings he gave that signal whistle by which in former times he gathered his servants and helpers around him.

He had hardly time to draw breath, when from an opening overhead red flames glared, and a crowd of devils hustling each other, rushed through the

hole into the basement and seated themselves around Beelzebub like birds of prey round carrion.

These devils were big and small, stout and thin, with long and with short tails, with horns pointed straight and crooked.

One of them—naked, but for a cape thrown over his shoulders—of a shining black color, with a round hairless face, and with an enormous pendulous belly, sat on his heels in front of Beelzebub and turned up and down his fiery eyeballs, continuously smiling and regularly wagging his long, thin tail from side to side.

III.

"What does this noise signify?" said Beelzebub, pointing upwards. "What's going on there?"

"Just the same as has always gone on," answered the shining devil in the cape.

"But are there really any sinners now?" asked Beelzebub.

"Many," answered the shining one.

"But how about the teaching of him whom I do not wish to name?" asked Beelzebub.

The devil in the cape grinned, disclosing his sharp teeth, while suppressed laughter was heard amongst all the devils.

"This teaching does not hinder us. Men do not believe in it," said the devil in the cape.

"But this teaching obviously saves them from us, and he sealed it by his death," said Beelzebub.

"I have transformed it," said the devil in the cape, thumping his tail on the floor.

"How have you transformed it?"

"So that men do not believe in his teaching but in mine, which they call by his name."

"How didst thou do this?" asked Beelzebub.

"It was done of itself. I only helped."

"Tell me about it quickly," said Beelzebub.

The devil in the cape bent down his head and was silent a while, as if leisurely considering, then he said:

"When that dreadful event happened, that Hell was overthrown and our father and ruler departed from us," said he, "I went to those places where that very teaching which so nearly destroyed us was taught. I wished to see how those people lived who fulfilled it, and I saw that the people who lived according to this teaching were perfectly happy and quite out of our reach. They did not quarrel with each other, they did not give way to women's charms, and either they did not marry, or if they married they kept to one wife; they had no property, holding all as common, and they did not defend themselves against attacks, but repaid evil by good.

"Their life was so good that many were attracted to them more and more. When I saw this I thought

that all was lost, and was just going to quit. But then occurred a circumstance, in itself insignificant, yet which appeared to me to deserve attention, and I remained. Amongst these people some regarded it as necessary that all should undergo circumcision, and that none should eat meat offered to idols; whereas others were of opinion that these matters were not essential, and that one might abstain from circumcision and eat anything. So I began to instil into all their minds that this difference of opinion was very important, and that as the question concerned the service of God, neither side could possibly give way. They believed me, and the disputes became more obdurate. On both sides they began to be angry, and then I proceeded to instil into each of them that they might prove the truth of their teaching by miracles. Evident as it is that miracles cannot prove the truth of a teaching, yet they so desired to be in the right that they believed me, and I arranged miracles for them. It was not difficult to do this. They believed anything which supported their desire to prove that they only held the truth.

"Some said that tongues of fire descended upon them; others said that they had seen the risen body of the Master himself, and much else. They kept inventing what had never taken place, and lied in the name of him who called us liars, worse than we do ourselves—and did not know it. One party said of

the other: 'Your miracles are not genuine; ours are genuine.' Whereupon the other retorted: 'No, yours are a fraud; ours are real.'

"Matters were going on well, but as I was afraid they might discern the too-evident trick, I invented the 'Church.' Once they believed in 'the Church,' I was at peace. I recognized that we were saved, and that Hell was restored."

IV.

The Church is produced thus: Some people assure themselves and others that their teacher, God, has chosen special men who, with those to whom they transfer this power, can alone correctly interpret His teaching. Those men who call themselves the Church regard themselves as holding the truth, not because what they preach is truth, but because they regard themselves as the only true successors of the disciples of the disciples of the disciples, and at last of the disciples of the teacher Himself, God. . . .

Having recognized themselves as the only expositors of God's law, and having persuaded others of this, these men became the highest arbiters of man's fate, and therefore were entrusted with the highest power over men. Having received this power, they naturally became infatuated and, for the most part, depraved, thus exciting against themselves the anger

and enmity of men. In order to overcome their enemies, they, having no other arms but violence, began to persecute, to kill, to burn all those who would not recognize their power. Thus by their very position they were forced to misrepresent the teachings so that it should justify both their wicked lives and their cruelties to their enemies.

Christ's teaching was so simple that no one could possibly misinterpret it. It is expressed in the saying: "Do unto others what thou desirest that others should do unto thee." But Satan's helpers succeeded in obscuring the Golden Rule.

V.

Concerning government, Beelzebub says:

"He who destroyed Hell taught mankind to live like the birds of Heaven, commanding men to give to him that asks and to surrender one's coat to him who wishes to take one's shirt, saying that to be saved one must give away one's property. How then dost thou induce men who have heard this to go on plundering?"

"We do this," said the moustached devil haughtily, throwing back his head, "exactly as did our father and ruler when Saul was elected King. Even as then, we instil into men the idea that instead of ceasing to plunder each other it is more convenient to allow one

man to plunder them all, giving him full authority over all. What is new in our methods is only this,—that for confirming this one man's right of plundering we lead him into a church, put a special cap on his head, seat him in an elevated armchair, give him a little stick and a ball, rub him with some oil, and in the name of God and His Son proclaim the person of this man, rubbed with oil, to be sacred. Thus the plunder performed by this personage, regarded as sacred, can in no way be restricted. So these sacred personages and their assistants and the assistants of their assistants, all without ceasing, quietly and safely plunder the people. Generally, laws and regulations are instituted by which the idle minority, even without anointing, may plunder with impunity the laboring majority. In some States of late the plunder goes on without anointed men, even as much as where they exist. As our father and ruler sees, the method we use is in substance the old one. What is new in it is that we have made this method more general, more insidious, more widespread in extent and time, and more stable."

As to international politics, the devil of murder proposed the following scheme:

"We manage thus: We persuade each nation that it—this nation—is the very best of all nations on earth. *'Deutschland über alles;'* France, England, Russia *'über alles,'* and this nation, whichever it be,

ought to rule over all the others. As we inculcate the same idea into all nations, they continually feel themselves in danger from their neighbors,—are always preparing to defend themselves, and become exasperated against each other. The more one side prepares for defense, and, in consequence, becomes exasperated against its neighbors, the more all the others prepare for defense and hate each other. So, now all those who have accepted the teaching of him who called us murderers, are continually and chiefly occupied in preparation for murder and in murder itself."

VI.

As to marriage, the mode of procedure was explained to Beelzebub as follows:

"We do this both according to the old method used by thee, our father and ruler, when yet in the garden of Eden, and which gave over all the human race into our power, but we do it also in a new ecclesiastical way. According to the new ecclesiastical method we proceed thus: We persuade men that true marriage consists not in what it really consists, the union of man and woman, but in dressing oneself up in one's best clothes, going into a big building arranged for the purpose, and there putting on one's head caps specially prepared for the occasion, walking round a little table three times to the sound of various

songs. We teach men that this only is true marriage. Being persuaded of this, they naturally regard all unions between man and woman formed outside of these conditions as mere frolics binding one to nothing, or as the satisfaction of a hygienic necessity, and therefore they unrestrainedly give themselves up to this pleasure. . . .

"In this way, while not abandoning the former method of forbidden fruit and inquisitiveness practiced in Eden, we attain the very best results, men imagining that they can arrange for themselves an honest ecclesiastical marriage even after a dissolute life; men change hundreds of wives and thus become so accustomed to vice that they go on doing the same after the Church marriage. If for any reason, any of the demands connected with their Church marriage appear to them cumbersome, then they arrange another walk round the little table, whilst the first is regarded as of no effect."

VII.

In order to prevent people from investigating the real cause of all unhappiness on earth, Satan invented science and makes people investigate all kinds of physical laws, the descent of man, etc. He thus succeeds in covering up the important religious truth of the Golden Rule. For the sake of increasing the toil

of man, machinery was introduced. The devil of the labor question says: "I persuade men that as articles can be produced better by machines than by men, it is therefore necessary to turn men into machines, and they do this, and the men turned into machines hate those who have done so unto them."

* * *

Finally the devils encircled Beelzebub. At one end was the devil in the cape,—the inventor of the Church; at the other end the devil in the mantle,—the inventor of Science. These devils clasped each other's paws, and the ring was complete.

All the devils chuckling, yelping, whistling, cracking their heels and twisting their tails, spun and danced around Beelzebub. Beelzebub, himself flapping his unfolded wings, danced in the middle, kicking up high his legs.

Above were heard cries, weeping, groans, and the gnashing of teeth.

AN APPEAL TO THE CLERGY.

TRANSLATED BY AYLMER MAUDE.

Whoever you may be: popes, cardinals, bishops, or pastors, of whatever Church, forego for a while your assurance that you are the only true disciples of the God Christ, and remember that you are first of all men: that is, according to your own teaching, beings sent into this world by God to fulfil His will; remember this, and ask yourselves what you are doing. Your whole life is devoted to preaching, maintaining, and spreading among men a teaching which you say was revealed to you by God Himself, and is, therefore, the only one that is true, and brings redemption.

In what, then, does this one true and redeeming doctrine that you preach, consist? To whichever one of the so-called Christian Churches you may belong, you acknowledge that your teaching is quite accurately expressed in the articles of belief formulated at the Council of Nicæa 1,600 years ago. Those articles of belief are as follows:

First: There is a God the Father (the first person of a Trinity), who has created the sky and the earth, and all the angels who live in the sky.

Second: There is only one Son of God the Father, not created, but born (the second person of the Trinity). Through this Son the world was made.

Third: This Son, to save people from sin and death (by which they were all punished for the disobedience of their forefather Adam), came down to the earth, was made flesh by the Holy Ghost and the virgin Mary, and became a man.

Fourth: This Son was crucified for the sins of men.

Fifth: He suffered and was buried, and rose on the third day, as had been foretold in Hebrew books.

Sixth: Having gone up into the sky, the Son seated himself at his Father's right side.

Seventh: This Son of God will, in due time, come again to the earth to judge the living and the dead.

Eighth: There is a Holy Ghost (the third person of the Trinity) who is equal to the Father, and who spoke through the prophets.

Ninth: (Held by some of the largest Churches.) There is one holy, infallible Church (or, more exactly the Church to which he who makes the confession belongs is held to be unique, holy, and infallible). This Church consists of all who believe in it, living or dead.

Tenth: (Also for some of the largest Churches.)

There exists a sacrament of baptism, by means of which the power of the Holy Ghost is communicated to those who are baptized.

Eleventh: At the second coming of Christ the souls of the dead will re-enter their bodies, and these bodies will be immortal; and

Twelfth: After the second coming, the just will have eternal life in paradise on a new earth under a new sky, and sinners will have eternal life in the torments of hell.

Not to speak of things taught by some of your largest Churches (the Roman Catholic and Russo-Greek Orthodox)—such as the belief in saints, and in the good effects of bowing to their bodily remains, and to representations of them, as well as of Jesus and the mother of God—the above twelve points embrace the fundamental positions of that truth which you say has been revealed to you by God himself for the redemption of man. Some of you preach these doctrines simply as they are expressed; others try to give them an allegorical meaning, more or less in accord with present-day knowledge and common sense; but you all alike are bound to confess, and do confess, these statements to be the exact expression of that unique truth which God himself has revealed to you, and which you preach to men for their salvation.

* * *

Very well. You have had the one truth capable of saving mankind revealed to you by God himself. It is natural for men to strive towards truth, and when it is clearly presented to them they are always glad to accept it, and be guided by it.

And, therefore, to impart this saving truth revealed to you by God himself, it would seem sufficient, plainly and simply, verbally, and through the Press, to communicate it with reasonable persuasion to those capable of receiving it.

But how have you preached this truth?

From the time a society calling itself the Church was formed, your predecessors taught this truth chiefly by violence. They laid down the truth, and punished those who did not accept it. This method, which was evidently not suited to its purpose, came, in course of time, to be less and less employed, and is now, of all the Christian Churches, used, I think, only in Russia.

Another means was through external action on people's feelings—by solemnity of setting, pictures, music, even dramatic performances, and oratorical art. In time this method, also, began to be less and less used. In Protestant countries—except the orator's art—it is now but little used.

But all the strength of the clergy is now directed to a third and most powerful method, which has always been used, and is now with special jealousy retained by the clergy in their own hands. This method

is that of instilling Church doctrine into people who are not in a position to judge of what is given them: for instance, into quite uneducated working people who have no time for thought, and chiefly into children, who accept indiscriminately what is imparted to them and on whose minds it remains permanently impressed.

So that in our day your chief method of imparting to men the truth God has revealed to you, consists in teaching this truth to uneducated adults, and to children who do not reason but who accept everything.

This teaching generally begins with what is called Scripture History: that is to say, with selected passages from the Bible: the Hebrew books of the Old Testament, which according to your teaching are the work of the Holy Ghost, and are therefore not only unquestionably true, but also holy. From this history your pupil draws his first notions of the world, of the life of man, of good and evil, and of God.

This Scripture History begins with a description of how God, the ever-living, created the sky and the earth 6,000 years ago out of nothing; how he afterwards created beasts, fishes, plants, and finally man: Adam, and Adam's wife, who was made of one of Adam's ribs. Then it describes how, fearing lest the man and his wife should eat an apple which had the magic quality of giving knowledge, he forbade them to eat that apple; how, notwithstanding this prohibi-

tion, the first people ate the apple, and were therefore expelled from Paradise; and how all their descendants were therefore cursed, and the earth was cursed also, so that since then it has produced weeds. Then the life of Adam's descendants is described: how they became so perverted that God not only drowned them all, but drowned all the animals with them, and left alive Noah and his family and the animals he took into the ark. Then it is described how God chose Abraham alone of all people, and made an agreement with him; which agreement was that Abraham was to consider God to be God, and, as a sign of this, was to be circumcised. On his side, God undertook to give Abraham a numerous progeny, and to patronize him and all his offspring. Then it tells how God, patronizing Abraham and his descendants, performed on their behalf most unnatural actions called miracles, and most terrible cruelties. So that the whole of this history—excepting certain stories, which are sometimes naive (as the visit of God with two angels to Abraham, the marriage of Isaac, and others), and are sometimes innocent, but are often immoral (as the swindles of God's favorite, Jacob, the cruelties of Samson, and the cunning of Joseph),—the whole of this history, from the plagues Moses called down upon the Egyptians, and the murder by an angel of all their first-born, to the fire that destroyed 250 conspirators, and the tumbling into the ground of Ko-

rah, Dathan, and Abiram, and the Destruction of 14,-700 men in a few minutes, and on to the sawing in pieces of enemies with saws, and the execution of the priests who did not agree with him by Elijah (who rode up into the sky), and to the story of Elisha, who cursed the boys that laughed at him, so that they were torn in pieces, and eaten by two bears,—all this history is a series of miraculous occurrences and of terrible crimes, committed by the Hebrew people, by their leaders, and by God himself.

Your teaching of the New Testament consists not in its moral teaching, not in the Sermon on the Mount, but in conformity of the Gospels with the stories of the Old Testament, in the fulfilment of prophecies, and in miracles, the movement of a star, songs from the sky, talk with the devil, the turning of water into wine, walking on the water, healing, calling people back to life, and, finally, the resurrection of Jesus Himself, and His flying up into the sky.

If all these stories, both from the Old and New Testaments, were taught as a series of fairy-tales, even then hardly any teacher would decide to tell them to children and adults he desired to enlighten. But these tales are imparted to people unable to reason, as though they were the most trustworthy description of the world and its laws, as if they gave the truest information about the lives of those who lived in former times, of what should be considered good and

evil, of the existence and nature of God, and of the duties of man.

People talk of harmful books! But is there in Christendom a book that has done more harm to mankind than this terrible book, called "Scripture History from the Old and New Testaments"? And all the men and women of Christendom have to pass through a course of this Scripture History during their childhood, and this same history is also taught to ignorant adults as the first and most essential foundation of knowledge,—as the one, eternal, truth of God.

You cannot introduce a foreign substance into a living organism without the organism suffering, and sometimes perishing, from its efforts to rid itself of this foreign substance. What terrible evil to a man's mind must, then, result from this rendering of the teaching of the Old and New Testaments—foreign alike to present day knowledge, to common sense, and to moral feeling—and instilled into him at a time when he is unable to judge, but accepts all that is given him!

Every man comes into the world with a consciousness of his dependence on a mysterious, all-powerful Source which has given him life, and consciousness of his equality with all men, the equality of all men with one another, a desire to love and be loved, and consciousness of the need of striving towards perfection. But what do you instil into him?

Instead of the mysterious Source of which he thinks with reverence, you tell him of an angry, unjust God, who executes and torments people.

Instead of the equality of all men, which the child and the simple men recognize with all their being, you tell them that not only people, but nations, are unequal; that some of them are loved, and others are not loved, by God; and that some people are called by God to rule, others to submit.

Instead of that wish to love and to be loved which forms the strongest desire in the soul of every unperverted man, you teach him that the relations between men can only be based on violence, on threats, on executions; and you tell him that judicial and military murders are committed not only with the sanction but at the command of God.

In place of the need of self-improvement, you tell him that man's salvation lies in belief in the Redemption, and that by improving himself by his own powers, without the aid of prayers, sacraments, and belief in the Redemption, man is guilty of sinful pride, and that for his salvation man must trust not to his own reason, but to the commands of the Church, and must do what she decrees.

It is terrible to think of the perversion of thought and feeling produced in the soul of a child or an ignorant adult by such teaching.

There were Christian customs: to have pity on a

criminal or a wanderer, to give of one's last resources to a beggar, and to ask forgiveness of a man one has offended.

All this is now forgotten and discarded. It is now all replaced by learning by rote the catechism, the triune composition of the Trinity, prayers before lessons, and prayers for teachers and for the Tsar, etc. So, within my recollection, the people have grown ever religiously coarser.

One part—most of the women—remain as superstitious as they were six hundred years ago, but without that Christian spirit which formerly permeated their lives; the other part, which knows the catechism by heart, are absolute atheists. And all this is consciously brought about by the clergy.

"But that applies to Russia," is what Western Europeans—Catholics and Protestants—will say. But I think that the same, if not worse, is happening in Catholicism, with its prohibition of the Gospels and its Notre-Dames; and in Protestantism, with its holy idleness on the Sabbath day, and its bibliolatry. I think, in one form or another, it is the same throughout the quasi-Christian world.

One may utter words that have no sense, but one cannot *believe* what has no sense.

The people of former ages who framed these dogmas, could believe in them, but you can no longer do so. If you say you have faith in them, you say so only

because you use the word "faith" in one sense, while you apply it to another. One meaning of the word "faith" refers to a relation adopted by man towards God, which enables him to define the meaning of his whole life, and guides all his conscious actions. Another meaning of the word "faith" is the credulous acceptance of assertions made by a certain person or persons.

The well-known preacher, Père Didon, in the introduction to his *Vie de Jésus-Christ,* announces that he believes, not in some allegorical sense, but plainly, without explanations, that Christ, having risen, was carried up into the sky, and sits there at the right hand of his father.

An illiterate Samára peasant of my acquaintance, in reply to the question whether he believed in God, simply and firmly replied, as his priest told me: "No, sinner that I am, I don't believe." His disbelief in God the peasant explained by saying that one could not live as he was living if one believed in God: "one scolds, and grudges help to a beggar, and envies, and over-eats and drinks. Could one do such things if one believed in God?"

Père Didon affirms that he has faith both in God and in the ascension of Jesus, while the Samára peasant says he does not believe in God, since he does not obey His commandments.

Evidently Père Didon does not even know what

faith is, and only says he believes: while the Samára peasant knows what faith is, and, though he says he does not believe in God, really believes in him in the very way that is true faith.

* * *

I hear the usual reply: "What will become of men if they cease to believe the Church doctrines? Will things not be worse than they are now?"

What will happen if the people of Christendom cease to believe in Church doctrine? The result will be—that not the Hebrew legends alone but the religious wisdom of the whole world will become accessible and intelligible to them. People will grow up and develop with unperverted understandings and feelings. Having discarded a teaching accepted credulously, people will order their relation towards God reasonably, in conformity with their knowledge; and will recognize the moral obligations that flow from that relation.

"But will not the results be worse?"

If the Church doctrine is not true—how can it be worse for men not to have falsehood preached to them as truth, especially in a way so unfair as is now adopted for the purpose?

"But," some people say, "the common folk are coarse and uneducated, and what we, educated people, do not require, may yet be useful and even indispensable, for the masses."

If all men are made alike, then all must travel one

and the same path from darkness to light, from ignorance to knowledge, from falsehood to truth. You have traveled that road, and have attained consciousness of the unreliability of the belief in which you were trained. By what right will you check others from making the same advance?

You say that though you do not need such food, it is needed by the masses. But no wise man undertakes to decide the physical food another must eat; how then can it be decided—and who can decide—what spiritual food the masses of the people must have?

The fact that you notice among the people a demand for this doctrine in no way proves that the demand ought to be supplied. There exists a demand for intoxicants and tobacco—and other yet worse demands. And the fact is that you yourselves, by complex methods of hypnotization, evoke this very demand, by the existence of which you try to justify your own occupation. Only cease to evoke the demand, and it will not exist; for, as in your own case so with everyone else, there can be no demand for lies, but all men have moved and still move from darkness to light; and you who stand nearer to the light should try to make it accessible to others, and not to hide it from them.

"But," I hear a last objection, "will the result not be worse if we—educated, moral men, who desire to do good to the people—abandon our posts because of the doubts that have arisen in our souls, and let our

places be taken by coarse, immoral men, indifferent to the people's good?"

Undoubtedly the abandonment of the clerical profession by the best men, will have the effect that the ecclesiastical business passing into coarse, immoral hands, will more and more disintegrate, and expose its own falsity and harmfulness. But the result will not be worse, for the disintegration of ecclesiastical establishments is now going on, and is one of the means by which people are being liberated. And, therefore, the quicker this emancipation is accomplished, by enlightened and good men abandoning the clerical profession, the better it will be. And so, the greater the number of enlightened and good men who leave the clerical profession, the better.

I know that many of you are encumbered with families, or are dependent on parents who require you to follow the course you have begun; I know how difficult it is to abandon a post that brings honor or wealth or even gives a competence and enables you and your families to continue a life to which you are accustomed, and I know how painful it is to go against relatives one loves. But anything is better than to do what destroys your own soul and injures your fellowmen.

Therefore, the sooner and more definitely you repent of your sin and cease your activity, the better it will be not only for others, but for yourselves.

That is what I—*standing now on the brink of my grave,* and clearly seeing the chief source of human ills—wished to say to you; and to say not in order to expose or condemn you, but in order to co-operate in the emancipation of men from the terrible evil which the preaching of your doctrine produces, and at the same time to help you to rouse yourselves from the hypnotic sleep in which now you often fail to understand all the wickedness of your own actions.

May God, who sees your hearts, help you in the effort!

ANSWER TO THE RIDDLE OF LIFE.

TRANSLATED BY ERNEST H. CROSBY.*

We should begin our researches with that which we alone know with certitude, and this is the "I" within us. Life is what I feel in myself, and this life science cannot define. Nay, it is my idea of life rather which determines what I am to consider as science, and I learn all outside of myself solely by the extension of my knowledge of my own mind and body. We know from within that man lives only for his own happiness, and his aspiration towards it and his pursuit of it constitutes his life. At first he is conscious of the life in himself alone, and hence he imagines that the good which he seeks must be his own individual good. His own life seems the real life, while he regards the life

*Selections from his *Tolstoy and His Message,* pp. 36 ff., which present Tolstoy's solution of the problem of life, his view of the soul, and its destiny after death, which is Christian in spirit (explaining the argument of his belief in the doctrine of non-resistance) and at the same time closely resembles the Buddhist conception of Nirvâna.

of others as a mere phantom. He soon finds out that other men take the same view of the world, and that the life in which he shares is composed of a vast number of individuals, each bent on securing its own welfare, and consequently doing all it can to thwart and destroy the others. He sees that in such a struggle it is almost hopeless for him to contend, for all mankind is against him. If, on the other hand, he succeeds by chance in carrying out his plans for happiness, he does not even then enjoy the prize as he anticipated. The older he grows, the rarer become the pleasures; ennui, satiety, trouble and suffering go on increasing; and before him lie old age, infirmity and death. He will go down to the grave, but the world will continue to live.

The real life, then, is the life outside him, and his own life, which originally appeared to him the one thing of importance, is after all a deception. The good of the individual is an imposture, and if it could be obtained it would cease at death. The life of man as an individuality seeking his own good, in the midst of an infinite host of similar individualities engaged in bringing one another to naught and being themselves annihilated in the end, is an evil and an absurdity. It cannot be the true life.

Our quandary arises from looking upon our animal life as the real life. Our real life begins with the waking of our consciousness, at the moment when we

perceive that life lived for self cannot produce happiness. We feel that there must be some other good. We make an effort to find it, but, failing, we fall back into our old ways. These are the first throes of the birth of the veritable human life. This new life only becomes manifest when the man once for all renounces the welfare of his animal individuality as his aim in life. By so doing he fulfils the law of reason, the law which we all are sensible of within us—the same universal law which governs the nutrition and reproduction of beast and plant.

Our real life is our willing submission to this law, and not, as science would have us hold, the involuntary subjection of our bodies to the laws of organic existence. Self-renunciation is as natural to man as it is for birds to use their wings instead of their feet; it is not a meritorious or heroic act; it is simply the necessary condition precedent of genuine human life. This new human life exhibits itself in our animal existence just as animal life does in matter. Matter is the instrument of animal life, not an obstacle to it; and so our animal life is the instrument of our higher human life and should conform to its behests.

Life, then, is the activity of the animal individuality working in submission to the law of reason. Reason shows man that happiness cannot be obtained by a selfish life, and leaves only one outlet open for him, and that is Love. Love is the only legitimate mani-

festation of life. It is an activity which has for its object the good of others. When it makes its appearance, the meaningless strife of the animal life ceases.

Real love is not the preference of certain persons whose presence gives one pleasure. This, which is ordinarily called love, is only a wild stock on which true love may be grafted, and true love does not become possible until man has given up the pursuit of his own welfare. Then at last all the juices of his life come to nourish the noble graft, while the trunk of the old tree, the animal individuality, pours into it its entire vigor. Love is the preference which we accord to other beings over ourselves. It is not a burst of passion, obscuring the reason, but on the contrary no other state of the soul is so rational and luminous, so calm and joyous; it is the natural condition of children and the wise.

Active love is attainable only for him who does not place his happiness in his individual life, and who also gives free play to his feelings of good-will towards others. His well-being depends upon love as that of a plant on light. He does not ask what he should do, but he gives himself up to that love which is within his reach. He who loves in this way alone possesses life. Such self-renunciation lifts him from animal existence in time and space into the regions of life. The limitations of time and space are incompatible with the idea of real life. To attain to it man must trust himself to his wings.

Man's body changes; his states of consciousness are successive and differ from each other; what then is the "I"? Any child can answer when he says, "I like this; I don't like that." The "I" is that which likes—which loves. It is the exclusive relationship of a man's being with the world, that relation which he brings with him from beyond time and space. It is said that in his extreme old age, St. John the Apostle had the habit of repeating continually the words, "Brethren, love one another." His animal life was nearly gone, absorbed in a new being for which the flesh was already too narrow. For the man who measures his life by the growth of his relation of love with the world, the disappearance at death of the limitations of time and space is only the mark of a higher degree of light.

My brother, who is dead, acts upon me now more strongly than he did in life; he even penetrates my being and lifts me up towards him. How can I say that he is dead? Men who have renounced their individual happiness never doubt their immortality. Christ knew that He would continue to live after His death because He had already entered into the true life which cannot cease. He lived even then in the rays of that other center of life toward which He was advancing, and He saw them reflected on those who stood around Him. And this every man who renounces his own good beholds; he passes in this life into a new relation with the world for which there is no death; on one side he

sees the new light, on the other he witnesses its actions on his fellows after being refracted through himself; and this experience gives him an immovable faith in the stability, immortality, and eternal growth of life. Faith in immortality cannot be received from another; you cannot convince yourself of it by argument. To have this faith you must have immortality; you must have established with the world in the present life the new relation of life, which the world is no longer wide enough to contain.

[Ernest Howard Crosby, the translator of Tolstoy's "Answer to the Riddle of Life" and his leading disciple in America, has shown himself a devoted friend to the venerable Russian reformer whose picture he places before us in the following words: "A strange figure—this peasant nobleman, this aristocrat, born into the ruling class of an autocracy, who condemns all government and caste, this veteran of two wars who proscribes all bloodshed, this keen sportsman turned vegetarian, this landlord who follows Henry George, this man of wealth who will have nothing to do with money, this famous novelist who thinks that he wasted his time in writing most of his novels, this rigid moralist, one of whose books at least, the *Kreutzer Sonata,* was placed under the ban of the American Post Office. That same dramatic instinct which made him a great novelist, which impelled Sir Henry Irving to rank his two plays among the best of the past century, and which, as we have seen, has so often led him to find lessons in the active world around him, this same instinct has made of this least theatrical and most self-forgetful of men the dramatic prefigurement in his own person of a reunited race, set free by love from the shackles of caste and violence. As it was with the prophets of old, so with him, there is a deeper significance in his life, in the tragedy of himself, than in the burden of his spoken message." And, indeed, Tolstoy is a remarkable man in spite of much that may be called one-

sided and eccentric. In his rugged originality and with his independence of thought, he is and will remain forever a most unique personality. Mr. Crosby's enthusiasm for this prophet of peace and goodwill on earth finds utterance in the following lines in his *Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable:*

"Hail, Tolstoy, bold, archaic shape,
Rude pattern of the man to be,
From 'neath whose rugged traits escape
Hints of a manhood fair and free.

"I read a meaning in your face,
A message wafted from above,
Prophetic of an equal race
Fused into one by robust love.

"Like some quaint statue long concealed,
Deep buried in Mycenæ's mart,
Wherein we clearly see revealed
The promise of Hellenic art,

"So stand you; while aloof and proud,
The world that scribbles, prates, and frets
Seems but a simpering, futile crowd
Of Dresden china statuettes.

"Like John the Baptist, once more scan
The signs that mark the dawn of day.
Forerunner of the Perfect Man,
Make straight His path, prepare the way.

"The desert too is your abode,
Your garb and fare of little worth;
Thus ever has the Spirit showed
The coming reign of heaven on earth.

"Not in king's houses may we greet
The prophets whom the world shall bless,
To lay my verses at your feet
I seek you in the wilderness."]

VIEWS ON THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.*

Two thousand years ago John the Baptist and then Jesus said to men: "The time is fulfilled and the Kingdom of God is at hand, bethink yourselves and believe in the Gospel (Mark i. 15), and if you do not bethink yourselves you will all perish" (Luke xiii. 5).

But men did not listen to them and the destruction they foretold is already near at hand. And we men of our time cannot but see it. We are already perishing and, therefore, we cannot leave unheeded that—old-in-time, but for us new—means of salvation.

[Thus he makes the word of Christ, "bethink yourselves," the subject of his letter and chooses it as its title. He begins his meditations with these words:]

And again war. Again sufferings, necessary to nobody, utterly uncalled for; again fraud, again the universal stupefaction and brutalism of men.

Men who are separated from each other by thousands of miles, hundreds of thousands of such men (on.

*From *Bethink Yourselves* (Chicago, Hammersmark Publishing Co.), with editorial comments in brackets.

the one hand—Buddhists, whose law forbids the killing not only of men but of animals; on the other hand —Christians, professing the law of brotherhood and love), like wild beasts on land and on sea are seeking out each other in order to kill, torture and mutilate each other in the most cruel way. What can this be? Is it a dream or a reality? Something is taking place which should not, cannot be; one longs to believe that it is a dream and to awake from it. But no, it is not a dream, it is a dreadful reality!

[Count Tolstoy does not believe in government by force and even appears to sacrifice his patriotism. He knows only his religious duties, and the Russian Empire is to him a vast conglomeration of different territories. He says:]

If there be a God, He will not ask me when I die (which may happen at any moment) whether I retained Chi-Nam-Po with its timber stores, or Port Arthur, or even that conglomeration which is called the Russian Empire, which He did not confide to my care, but He will ask me what I have done with that life which He put at my disposal—did I use it for the purpose for which it was predestined, and under the conditions for fulfilling which it was intrusted to me? Have I fulfilled His law?

[Yet the state of war exists and the question is no longer whether or not war is defensible, but what is to be done now when the enemies attack us.]

Love your enemies and ye will have none, is said in the teaching of the twelve apostles. This answer is

not merely words, as those may imagine who are accustomed to think that the recommendation of love to one's enemies is something hyperbolical and signifies not that which is expressed, but something else. This answer is the indication of a very clear and definite activity, and of its consequences.

To love one's enemies—the Japanese, the Chinese, those yellow peoples toward whom benighted men are now endeavoring to excite our hatred—to love them means not to kill them for the purpose of having the right of poisoning them with opium, as did the English; not to kill them in order to seize their land, as was done by the French, the Russians, and the Germans; not to bury them alive in punishment for injuring roads, not to tie them together by their hair, not to drown them in their river Amur, as did the Russians.

[The most graphic parts of the letter are the stories which Tolstoy tells of his personal impressions. He says:]

Yesterday I met a reservist soldier accompanied by his mother and wife. All three were riding in a cart; he had a drop too much; his wife's face was swollen with tears. He turned to me:

"Good-bye to thee! Lyof Nikolaevitch, off to the Far East."

"Well, art thou going to fight?"

"Well, some one has to fight!"

"No one need fight!"

He reflected for a moment. "But what is one to do, where can one escape?"

I saw that he had understood me, had understood that the work to which he was being sent was an evil work.

"Where can one escape?" That is the precise expression of that mental condition, which in the official and journalistic world is translated into the words, "For the Faith, the Czar, and the Fatherland." Those who, abandoning their hungry families, go to suffering, to death, say as they feel: "Where can one escape?" Whereas those who sit in safety in their luxurious palaces say that all Russian men are ready to sacrifice their lives for their adored monarch, and for the glory and greatness of Russia.

Yesterday, from a peasant I know, I received two letters, one after the other.

This is the first:

"Dear Lyof Nikolaevitch—Well, to-day I have received my official announcement of my call to service, to-morrow I must present myself at the headquarters. That is all. And after that—to the Far East to meet the Japanese bullets.

"About my own and my household's grief, I will not tell you; it is not you who will fail to understand all the horror of my position and the horrors of war, all this you have long ago painfully realized, and you understand it all. How I have longed to visit you, to

have a talk with you. I had written to you a long letter, in which I had described the torments of my soul; but I had not had time to copy it when I received my summons. What is my wife to do now with her four children? As an old man, of course, you cannot do anything yourself for my folks, but you might ask some of your friends in their leisure to visit my orphaned family. I beg you earnestly that if my wife proves unable to bear the agony of her helplessness with her burden of children, and makes up her mind to go to you for help and counsel you will receive and console her. Although she does not know you personally, she believes in your word, and that means much.

"I was not able to resist the summons, but I say beforehand that through me not one Japanese family shall be orphaned. My God! how dreadful is all this —how distressing and painful to abandon all by which one lives, and in which one is concerned."

The second letter is as follows:

"Kindest Lyof Nikolaevitch—Only one day of actual service has passed, and I have already lived through an eternity of most desperate torments. From 8 o'clock in the morning till 9 in the evening we have been crowded and knocked about to and fro in the barracks yard, like a herd of cattle, the comedy of medical examination was three times repeated, and those who had reported themselves ill did not receive even ten minutes' attention before they were marked 'satis-

factory.' When we, these two thousand satisfactory individuals, were driven from the military commander to the Barracks, along the road spread out for almost a verst stood a crowd of relatives, mothers, and wives, with infants in arms, and if you had only heard and seen how they clasped their fathers, husbands, sons and hanging round their necks wailed hopelessly! Generally I behave in a reserved way and can restrain my feelings, but I could not hold out, and I also wept." (In journalistic language this same is expressed thus: "The upheaval of patriotic feelings is immense.")

"Where is the standard that can measure all this immensity of woe now spreading itself over almost one-third of the world? And we, we are now that food for cannon, which in the near future will be offered as a sacrifice to the god of vengeance and horror.

"I cannot manage to establish my inner balance. Oh! how I execrate myself for this double-mindedness which prevents my serving one Master and God."

This man does not yet sufficiently believe that what destroys the body is not dreadful, but that which destroys both the body and the soul, therefore he cannot refuse to go, yet while leaving his own family he promises beforehand that through him not one Japanese family shall be orphaned; he believes in the chief law of God, the law of all religions—to act toward others as one wishes others to act toward oneself. Of such men more or less consciously recognizing this law,

there are in our time, not in the Christian world alone, but in the Buddhistic, Mahomedan, Confucian, and Brahminic world, not only thousands but millions.

There exist true heroes, not those who are now feted because, having wished to kill others, they were not killed themselves, but true heroes who are now confined in prisons and in the province of Yakoutsk for having categorically refused to enter the ranks of murderers, and who have preferred martyrdom to this departure from the law of Jesus. There are also such as he who writes to me, who go, but will not kill. But also that majority which goes without thinking, and endeavors not to think of what it is doing, still in the depth of its soul, does not already feel that it is doing an evil deed by obeying authorities who tear men from labor and from their families, and send them to needless slaughter of men, repugnant to their souls and their faith; and they go only because they are so entangled on all sides that—"Where can one escape?"

Meanwhile those who remain at home not only feel this but know and express it. Yesterday in the high road I met some peasants returning from Toula. One of them was reading a leaflet as he was walking by the side of his cart.

I asked, "What is that? a telegram?"

"This is yesterday's, but here is one of to-day."

He took another out of his pocket. We stopped. I read it.

"You should have seen what took place yesterday at the station," he said, "It was dreadful."

"Wives, children, more than a thousand of them, weeping. They surrounded the train, but were allowed no further. Strangers wept, looking on. One woman from Toula gasped and fell down dead; five children. They have since been placed in various institutions, but the father was driven away all the same. . . . What do we want with this Manchuria, or whatever it is called? There is sufficient land here. And what a lot of people and of property has been destroyed."

EPILOGUE.

PATRIOTISM AND CHAUVINISM.

BY DR. PAUL CARUS.

Count Leo Tolstoy presents his readers with a scathing denunciation of that wrong kind of patriotism which preaches the hatred of other nationalities, and is based upon the notion that the perdition of our neighbors will be conducive to our own welfare. However, in his praiseworthy desire to promote the sentiment of good-will toward all mankind, our distinguished author seems to overlook the important fact that there is also a right kind of patriotism which consists in the love of one's own country and in the legitimate aspiration of preserving all that is good in the character and institutions of one's own nationality. There is a wrong so-called patriotism which is national selfishness; and this spirit has been so splendidly characterized by Scribe in his *Soldat laboureur* in the person of Chauvin, that it is commonly called "Chauvinism" in Europe. But patriotism proper is the deter-

mination to keep intact the honor of one's own country.

Is it difficult to distinguish between right patriotism and its perversion, Chauvinism? I believe not! Right patriotism will always be compatible with the broadest and most cosmopolitan humanitarianism. It is a noble ambition that one's own nation should do what is right toward others, that she should do her best in the general progress of civilization and keep abreast with the progress that is being made in industry, invention, science, and art.

If Chauvinism is national selfishness, patriotism is national self-respect and aspiration. The extinction of selfishness does not imply the extinction of self respect and aspiration. On the contrary, we must encourage that proper kind of self-love which makes a man ambitious to accomplish something in life which in the measure of its usefulness to others will bring home to him the reward of his labors.

Let us retain as a designation for the proper love of country the noble word patriotism, the etymology of which reminds us of the sacred inheritance that children receive from their fathers; but let us brand all national selfishness as "Chauvinism." Patriotism must be cherished dearly, but Chauvinism should not be countenanced. Our children must be educated to appreciate the right kind of patriotism which in time will

abolish all unnecessary warfare and military rivalry among the nations.

As we must not condemn patriotism because of the existence of Chauvinism, so we must not regard the governments of nations as nuisances on account of the abuses of which they are guilty. Governments, it is true, are always inclined to encroach upon the rights of their citizens, whom those in power are in the habit of calling their "subjects," a term that should be discarded from the law-books of all nations; but for that reason the function of governments is by no means a redundant office. The function of governments does not consist in ruling the people, not in bossing or domineering; the function of governments is the administration of the public affairs of the people, a duty which is of paramount importance and cannot without great harm to the community be dispensed with.

A reply to Count Tolstoy has been made by James Burrill Angell in a baccalaureate address at the University of Michigan on "Patriotism and International Brotherhood," in which he said: "We profess, as individuals and as a nation, to be governed by the principles of Christian ethics. We are all agreed that patriotism is so commendable a virtue that we despise, if we do not hate, a citizen who is devoid of it. We are all agreed that our nation, if it is to be respected by others or by us, must maintain its rights with dignity and self-respect. . . . . The contradiction which Tolstoy sees between patriotism and Christian-

ity does not necessarily exist. They are not exclusive of each other.

"Providentially we are so situated that it has been easy for us, with a genuine patriotism, to develop our resources and to attend to our own affairs without much complication with the great powers of the world, and without cherishing sharp animosities toward them. But it is too much to expect that questions will not arise from time to time—many of them serious and difficult questions—between us and other nations. Our army is none too large, perhaps hardly large enough, for the police power which it is called to exercise over our large expanse of territory. Our navy is none too powerful to represent us and protect our citizens and their interests in the various countries of the world. The coast defenses of some of our great cities might well be strengthened. I regard the maintenance of a moderate force and of defenses of our chief harbors as peace measures, which will make nations hesitate about imposing on us. Nevertheless, we need not be bristling with excitement about the constant danger of attack from foreign powers, but our attitude toward them should be one of dignified independence and of a friendly desire to settle all questions with them on a just and reasonable basis by peaceful methods.

"Of late years there have been some notable expressions in favor of the arbitral settlement of controversies between nations. . . . . A body of three hun-

dred men, representing forty states of the Union, and comprising many men of high influence and reputation, have recently held a meeting in Washington for the express purpose of urging our government to establish a permanent court of arbitration at once with Great Britain, if practicable, and as soon as possible with other nations. It is believed by eminent jurists and statesmen that a court can be constituted by Great Britain and the United States whose decisions would command the assent of both nations.

"Remembering that 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men,' what higher honor can we wish for our people than that they should add to all their triumphs in the industrial arts and in the establishment of free and republican institutions the splendid triumph of teaching all nations to live together as brothers under the blessed command of the Prince of Peace."

We Americans have the confidence that, in spite of the various drawbacks in our politics, our government is the nearest approach to the ideal of a truly popular administration of the common interests of all citizens, rendering it more truly than other governments a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

The more the narrow Chauvinism of national vanity is replaced by the pure patriotism of national integrity and love of country, and the more the various governments of the world become pure-handed administrators of the true interests of their people, the rarer

wars will become, the more apparent will be the solidarity of the whole human race, and thus the nations of the earth will be readier to have their disputes decided by arbitration.

While, in the sense here set forth, we would not join Count Tolstoy's sweeping condemnation of all governments and of all patriotism, we agree with him in his denunciation of all Chauvinism and Jingoism; and we are convinced that his expositions will set people to thinking and will contribute a great deal toward the realization of the cosmopolitan ideal of peace on earth among the men of good-will.

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